

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ARA-10 AID-05 IGA-02 AGRE-00

EB-08 COME-00 IO-13 OMB-01 TRSE-00 NEA-10 CU-04

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R 261345Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6164

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 1032

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EGEN, PINS, SGE, MZ

SUBJECT: MOZAMBIKAN ASSESSMENT: FOREIGN POLICY GOALS AND PERFORMANCE

REF: (A) MAPUTO 0949; (B) MAPUTO 0978 1976

1. SUMMARY. DURING THE PAST YEAR MOZAMBIQUE HAS STRENGTHENED ITS RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THE SOVIET UNION, THE GDR AND CUBA. MOSCOW'S GAINS HAVE COME AT
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THE EXPENSE OF THE PRC, WHICH HAS BEEN RELATIVELY INACTIVE THIS YEAR. THE MAJOR WESTERN NATIONS ARE STILL REGARDED AS MOZAMBIQUE'S IDEOLOGICAL ENEMIES, ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO BE LESS APPREHENSIVE ABOUT DEALING WITH THE WEST, INCLUDING THE U.S. .. AND HAS BEEN WILLING TO ACCEPT FOOD AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FROM THEM. RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL HAVE RECENTLY BEGUN TO SHOW SOME IMPROVEMENT. IN SOUTHERN AF-

RICA, ZIMBABWE DOMINATES MOZAMBIQUE'S ATTENTION, WITH NAMIBIA COMING A DISTANT SECOND. ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN MOZAMBIQUE AND SOUTH AFRICA HAVE CONTINUED, ALTHOUGH FRELIMO CRITICISM OF THE PRETORIA REGIME HAS NOT ABATED. OVER THE NEXT YEAR WE EXPECT TO SEE LITTLE CHANGE IN MOZAMBIQUE'S CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AND ITS SUPPORT FOR RADICAL AND PRO-COMMUNIST POLICIES. THERE MAY BE A MODEST IMPROVEMENT IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE MAJOR WESTERN POWERS, INCLUDING THE U.S. END SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

MOZAMBIQUE'S BASIC FOREIGN POLICY PRINCIPLES HAVE NOT CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY DURING ITS SECOND YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE, THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT IT IS IN ITS INTEREST TO MAINTAIN CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES; THAT WESTERN IMPERIALISM IS THE COUNTRY'S PRINCIPAL ENEMY; AND THAT IT SHOULD SUPPORT SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND LIKE-MINDED REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENTS AND GROUPS AROUND THE WORLD. THIS HAS LED FRELIMO TO SUPPORT A VARIETY OF ISSUES ANTITHETICAL TO UNITED STATES INTERESTS.

--KOREAN REUNIFICATION UNDER NORTHERN LEADERSHIP;

--EQUATING ZIONISM WITH RACISM AND EXPULSION OF ISRAEL FROM UN;

--INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO; AND

--WITHDRAWAL OF WESTERN FORCES FROM THE INDIAN OCEAN.

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3. RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. THIS IS REVIEWED IN MAPUTO 1001.

4. RELATIONS WITH THE WEST

AFTER TWO YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE, MOZAMBIQUE APPEARS TO BE LESS APPREHENSIVE ABOUT DEALING WITH MAJOR WESTERN COUNTRIES. IT HAS NEGOTIATED ASSISTANCE AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S., BRITAIN, CANADA, FRANCE AND JAPAN, AND PRESIDENT MACHEL AND OTHER FRELIMO LEADERS HAVE FREQUENTLY MET AND CONFERRED WITH VISITING WESTERN OFFICIALS. FRELIMO OFFICIALS HAVE NOT, HOWEVER, DISPLAYED ANY DISENCHANTMENT WITH MARXISM-LENINISM OR THEIR "NATURAL ALLIES," NOR HAS CRITICISM OF "WESTERN IMPERIALISM" BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND THE MEDIA SLACKENED.

5. THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

AMONG THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, THE SCANDINAVIANS ENJOY THE BEST RELATIONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE. THIS IS FOR GOOD REASON. THEY SUPPORTED FRELIMO DURING ITS TEN-YEAR ARMED STRUGGLE

AND TODAY ARE MOZAMBIQUE'S LARGEST AID DONORS. IN MAY MACHEL PAID A TEN-DAY OFFICIAL VISIT TO SWEDEN, DENMARK, NORWAY AND FINLAND, HIS FIRST AS HEAD OF STATE TO ANY WESTERN COUNTRIES. MACHEL WAS IMPRESSED BY WHAT HE SAW, AND THE SCANDINAVIANS ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE THEIR FAVORED POSITION AMONG THE WESTERN COUNTRIES.

6. PORTUGAL

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN NEARLY TWO YEARS, RELATIONS BETWEEN MOZAMBIQUE AND PORTUGAL ARE SHOWING SOME IMPROVEMENT. IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS, PORTUGAL AND MOZAMBIQUE HAVE EXCHANGED AMBASSADORS AND RATIFIED A LONG-DELAYED TREATY OF COOPERATION. THE COOPERATION AGREEMENT WILL PROBABLY RESULT IN THE RECRUITMENT BY THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT OF

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TEACHERS, TECHNICIANS AND DOCTORS TO COME TO MOZAMBIQUE TO WORK. HOWEVER, BEFORE ANY MAJOR IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH THE FORMER METROPOLE CAN BE ACHIEVED, A NUMBER OF OUTSTANDING BILATERAL ISSUES, OF WHICH COMPENSATION FOR NATIONALIZED PROPERTY IS THE MOST TROUBLESOME, WILL HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED. THE GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE GIVES NO INDICATION PAYING COMPENSATION.

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7. RELATIONS WITH BLACK AFRICAN STATES

THE GPRM APPEARS TO HAVE PUT IN ABEYANCE ITS THOUGHTS OF LEADING A BLOC COMPRISING THE FORMER PORTUGUESE AFRICAN COLONIES. RATHER, IT HAS FOCUSED ITS ATTENTIONS ON MEETINGS OF THE "FRONT-LINE STATES," IN WHICH MACHEL AND MOZAMBIQUE PLAY A PROMINENT ROLE. MOZAMBIQUE STILL MAINTAINS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH OTHER AFRICAN STAES WHICH
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IT DEEMS "PROGRESSIVE", I.E, CONGO, GUINEA, THE FORMER PORTUGUESE AFRICAN COLONIES, SOMALIA, ALGERIA AND LIBYA. IT IGNORES THOSE CONSIDERED NON-PROGRESSIVE WITH THE EXCEPTION OF NIGERIA, WHICH IT CONSIDERS ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY IMPORTANT, AND ZAIRE, WHICH IT ATTACKS FREQUENTLY AS AN IMPERIALIST SATELLITE.

8. TANZANIA

TANZANIA CONTINUES TO BE MOZAMBIQUE'S CLOSEST AND MOST IMPORTANT AFRICAN ALLY. BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE SIGNED A NUMBER OF BILATERAL ACCORDS AND HAVE FORMED A PERMANENT JOINT COMMISSION TO INCREASE COOPERATION. TANZANIA ALSO PROVIDES MOZAMBIQUE WITH TROOPS, DOCTORS AND OTHER ADVISORS, AND MACHEL FREQUENTLY TURNS TO PRESIDENT NYERERE FOR ADVICE.

9. ZAMBIA

ZAMBIA ALSO MAINTAINS A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH MOZAMBIQUE. A GENERAL BILATERAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT WAS CONCLUDED BETWEEN KAUNDA AND MACHEL AND THEY HAVE MET TWICE IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS TO DISCUSS BILATERAL DEVELOPMENTS. HOWEVER, THE RELATIONSHIP APPEARS TO BE BASED MORE ON SHARING OF A COMMON PROBLEM--RHODESIA--THAN STRONG IDEOLOGICAL AFFINITY. IN THE EYES OF MANY OF THE FRELIMO

LEADERS, ZAMBIA IS STILL POLITICALLY BACKWARD AND NOT SUFFICIENTLY "PROGRESSIVE." WE SUSPECT THAT ZAMBIA IN TURN MAY BE UNHAPPY WITH MOZAMBIQUE'S "REVOLUTIONARY" FEVOR AND ITS CLOSE TIES TO THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

10 SOUTH AFRICA

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WHILE MOZAMBIQUE AVOIDS OPEN DIPLOMATIC CONTACT WITH SOUTH AFRICA, AND ATTACKS SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY, EXTENSIVE ECONOMIC LINKS CONTINUE. THE SOUTH AFRICANS HELP MAINTAIN MAPUTO PORT AND THE MOZAMBIQUE RAILWAYS; ENCOURAGE SOUTH AFRICAN FIRMS TO SHIP GOODS VIA MAPUTO; RECRUIT MOZAMBIKANS TO WORK IN SOUTH AFRICAN MINES (EARNING FOR MOZAMBIQUE APPROXIMATELY 80 PERCENT OF ITS HARD CURRENCY); EXPORT AND MARKET MUCH OF MOZAMBIQUE'S CITRUS PRODUCE; MAINTAIN REGULAR AIRLINE FLIGHTS BETWEEN MAPUTO AND PRETORIA; AND BUY ELECTRICITY FROM THE CABORA BASSA DAM. THE GPRM HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT WHILE ITS ECONOMIC LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA ARE UNDESIRABLE, THEY ARE NECESSARY IN THE SHORT TERM. POSSIBLY BECAUSE OF ITS TIES WITH PRETORIA, THE GPRM HAS ADOPTED A CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN ANC. IT HAS ALLOWED THE ANC TO OPEN A SMALL OFFICE IN MAPUTO AND HAS ASSISTED IN THE TRANSIT OF ITS PERSONNEL OUT OF THE COUNTRY. HOWEVER, IT HAS NOT ALLOWED THE ANC TO ESTABLISH GUERRILLA TRAINING BASES IN MOZAMBIQUE OR (THE THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE) DOES IT ALLOW THE ANC TO INFILTRATE INSURGENTS INTO THE REPUBLIC FROM MOZAMBIQUE.

11. ZIMBABWE

THE GPRM AND PRESIDENT MACHEL HAVE SPEND MORE TIME ON ZIMBABWE THAN ANY OTHER FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE. THE GPRM CONTINUES TO CHANNEL ARMS AND TO GIVE TRAINING TO THE ZIMBABWE GUERRILLAS WHO OPERATE FROM MOZAMBIQUE. AS A RESULT MACHEL AND MOZAMBIQUE PAY THE PRICE OF REGULAR RHODESIAN ARMED INCURSIONS MOZAMBIQUE, WHICH THE MOZAMBIQUE ARMY IS INCAPABLE OF PREVENTING. GIVEN HIS ARMY'S INABILITY TO STOP THE RHODESIANS, HE HAS SOUGHT MORE SOPHISTICATED ARMS AND TRAINING FROM THE SOVIET UNION. MACHEL HAS ALSO THOUGHT SERIOUSLY OF ASKING THE CUBANS TO HELP DEFEND HIS BORDERS, BUT HAS DESISTED OUT OF DEFERENCE TO PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND KAUNDA.

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12. WHILE MACHEL HAS NOT OPENLY OPPOSED UK AND ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVES ON THE RHODESIAN QUESTION, HE PLACES LITTLE FAITH IN THEM AND REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE CONCEPT OF ARMED STRUGGLE TO LIBERATE ZIMBABWE. HE CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT THOSE ZIMBABWEANS ENGAGED IN FIGHTING, I.E., THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, BE CONSULTED ON ANY POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND HAVE SOME ROLE IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWEAN GOVERNMENT. IF SMITH REACHED AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, MACHEL WOULD REJECT IT AND CONTINUE TO AID THE ZIMBABWEAN INSURGENTS. THE GPRM STILL PROMOTES THE CANDIDACY OF ROBERT MUGABE AND HIS FACTION WITHIN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, ALTHOUGH HE HAS CEASED HIS THINLY-VIELED OPPOSITION TO THE NKOMO FACTION.

13. IF THE CURRENT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS AT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT FAIL, MACHEL'S POSITION AMONG HIS FRONT-LINE COLLEAGUES MAY BE STRENGTHENED AS A RESULT OF HIS UNSWERVING SUPPORT FOR THE ARMED STRUGGLE. ANY SUCH BREAKDOWN MIGHT ALSO TEMPT MACHEL TO REQUEST CUBAN AND/OR OTHER OUTSIDE FORCES TO STRENGTHEN MOZAMBIQUE'S DEFENSIVE POSITION AND TO PUT GREATER PRESSURE ON SMITH.

14. THE FUTURE

DURING THE NEXT 6-12 MONTHS WE FORESEE THAT:

---MOZAMBIQUE WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN CLOSE POLITICAL AND MILITARY RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND THE OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. RELATIONS WITH PRC WILL PROBABLY SHOW SOME IMPROVEMENT:

---MOZAMBIQUE WILL REMAIN OPENLY CRITICAL OF THE MAJOR WESTERN COUNTRIES, BUT WILL EXPAND ITS DEALINGS WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES AND LOOK TO THEM INCREASINLY FOR FOOD AND CONFIDENTIAL

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DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE: RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL SHOULD IMPROVE;

--MACHEL WILL CONTINUE TO CHAMPION THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE AND TO INSIST THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT BE CONSULTED ON ANY POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA; AND,

--IF SMITH SHOULD CARRY OUT A PARTICULARLY PUNISHING AND PENETRATING RAID INTO MOZAMBIQUE, MACHEL WILL PRESS HIS FRONT-LINE COLLEAGUES TO ACQUIESCE IN THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS IN MOZAMBIQUE. DEPENDING ON NATURE OF THE PRESSURE HE MAY DO THIS UNILATERALLY.

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